THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

February 16, 1946

The Generalissimo Returns

AN EDITORIAL

United Nations' Charter

By E. Leopold Rissin

The Red Crisis In China

By J. B. Powell and Christopher Emmet

Kunming's Depression

By Charles J. Canning

Status Of Hongkong

AN EDITORIAL

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What People Are Saying

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited; their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of **The China Weekly Review.**

Confused

To The Editor:

Having perused a number of your issues, I am at something of a loss to determine your attitude and policy. Rather, I should say that I am unable to reconcile your statement of policy in your first issue with some of the articles that have appeared later: You say you are for truth and honest analysis of facts, yet you publish something like the article, "Communists Seek New Political Gains," by Woo Kya-tang. I shall not stop to criticize the more childish of his ideas. However, he speaks of the manner in which the Communists are seeking to gain political power by *starting the civil war* and that Chiang Kai-shek wants to avoid it. He accuses the Communists of attacking. The Maginot Line's uselessness proved of course that it is impossible to fight a defensive war without making at least offensive gestures. But Mr. Woo has his answer on the map. Since the agreement of the Double Tenth by which the Communists withdrew to the territory north of the Yangtze, the war has been entirely in the areas controlled by their armies. You can not, Mr. Editor, start a war in your own territory. Someone else comes and starts it for you. And would any army, armed by its own efforts from such sources as exist in North China, *start* a war with another that has the support of the United States with its vast resources? On the other hand, Mr. Woo's talk of Chiang's having little trouble with the Communists because of the way he "handled the Japanese," is a little absurd to any Chinese. Unless Mr. Woo means the way Chiang is handling these he sends against us in our area, his talk is pretty far afield.

You are pretty far afield yourself, Mr. Editor, when you speak of "opposing privilege" and then speak of the "Communist menace," as in Mr. J. B. Powell's article about Soviet ambitions in China. Menace indeed! Menace to whom? To children of farmers and peasants who receive free education? To laborers who organize unions or ask for living wages? No, the only menace of the Chinese Communists seems to be to that very privilege you are opposed to.

I can only conclude, Mr. Editor, that being typically American, you are following the general procedure of President Truman who states one thing vaguely and then does another. It has been so frequently since the Great White Father first dealt with the American Red Indian.

LIU YANG

Kao Wu, Kiangsu,
December 30, 1945.

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English Grammar

To The Editor:

Mr. Tsing, a friend of mine said: "The China Weekly Review is quite better for self-education in English than other magazines because its viewpoint in world affairs is justice and correct both in China and foreign countries."

Although I've been studying English for more than five years, I haven't a good supplementary, so as soon as I heard this fair news, I sat down to write to you to become a subscriber of yours. Will you be so kind as to help me?

T. C. LEE

Chengtu, Szechwan
January 29, 1946.

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Correction

To The Editor:

With reference to your editorial on "Censorship in China," in which you strongly criticize China for barring certain American correspondents, including Messrs. Edgar Snow, Brooks Atkinson, Leland Stowe, Vincent Sheehan, Richard Watts and Mark Gayne, you should have made it clear that all of these writers, either directly or by implication, have recommended the transfer of American diplomatic recognition from the Chungking to the Yenan, or Communist regime.

In brief, these writers, all aliens, with the possible exception of Gayne (alias Ginsburg) who was born in Manchuria, according to his book, have advocated the overthrow of the established government of China, the government which has been recognized by the powers since 1927—nineteen years.

There is no place in the world where freedom of the press is more strictly observed than in the United States, yet this land of free America strictly bars from its shores all alien members of the Communist Party who are known to have advocated the overthrow of the U.S. Government. This policy has been followed by the State Department for many years and any alien, a Chinese, or any other non-American, who would advocate the overthrow of the American Government, would be deported on short order.

In order to be completely fair, this point should be made perfectly clear.

COMMON SENSE

January 23, 1946.
New York.

Postal Union

To The Editor:

About 10 years ago there existed a treatment of discrimination between the foreign and the Chinese employees in the Postal service. The result was that a union was organized and supported by the Chinese employees. The object of this union was to improve the status of the employees and their livelihood.

Since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war the seats of the union were occupied by some greedy members who allowed their followers to spread all over the divisions of the Post-Office. As a result the majority of the members have been poverty-stricken. But the privileged were growing fat by the day, their bellies swelling with pride. They collect a so-called "Union Fee" which amounts to CNC$500,000 per month and of this sum little is used for the members' welfare since about two-thirds is poured into the pockets of the privileged.

While the terms for their positions have long since run out—in fact they terminated three years ago—still the privileged refused a re-election with the phrase: "It is wartime." We have waited for the surrender of the enemy and then informed the members of a new election. The privileged appeared angry at this announcement.

Whenever someone inquires into their finances and asks for re-election the dangerous "Colored Cap" is immediately put on his head and he is dubbed a disloyal anti-Kuomintang member which will result in his being punished, transferred to a remote place and even discharged.

May God send those evil men to the bottom!

LOYAL POSTAL SERVICEMAN

Chengtu,
January 19, 1946.

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

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The Generalissimo Returns

SHANGHAI this week welcomed Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who paid his first visit to the city in eight years. Generalissimo and Madame Chiang were received joyously by the local populace to whom their return signified that the long struggle was really over.

In addition to the citizenry's personal pleasure over the Generalissimo's arrival, hope was expressed in all quarters that he would be able to straighten out some of the city's more pressing difficulties. While it was recognized that the Generalissimo, here only for a short visit, could not solve the many problems, it was felt that his mere presence might serve to correct or alleviate some of the worst abuses.

One interesting feature of Generalissimo Chiang's arrival, last Monday, was the reaction of the local blackmarket exchange operators. Quotations for U.S. dollars opened at the Saturday closing, approximately CNC$1800 for US$1.00, but when word of his impending arrival spread through the city, the CNC dollar appreciated nearly 200 points. However, once he was here, the downward trend began again with the dollar hitting around 2000 to US$1.00 by the week-end.

The exchange problem was only one of the difficulties beleagered Shanghailanders hopefully dumped in the Generalissimo's lap. Other pressing matters which it was hoped he might be able to look into included the high cost of living in general, the housing shortage, the lack of transportation and many others.

As we said, the Generalissimo personally cannot be expected to solve single-handedly the host of post-war problems, but it is hoped that he may be able to alleviate them by eradicating some of the more outrageous abuses of power which add unnecessarily to the people's sufferings.

Status Of Hongkong

THE past two weeks have seen considerable agitation in the editorial columns of the press regarding the status of Hongkong. Strangely, some Chinese publications have maintained that, while China certainly wants Hongkong back, there perhaps is some benefit to be derived from the initial British reoccupation, since Hongkong's reorganization stands out as a shining example in contrast to the corrupt, mis-managed and altogether inefficient taking-over of China's other major cities by the Central Government.

In any discussion regarding the status of Hongkong, there are several things that should be remembered. That all people, except reactionary British diehards and certain Chinese and foreign groups with special interests, desire the return in the near future of Hongkong to China. There can be little argument about the matter. Hongkong and Kowloon are purely and simply part of China and should be returned to Chinese sovereignty at the earliest possible moment.

However, there is another side to the picture. That is, legitimate property interests, as well as the physical welfare of Hongkong's inhabitants must be considered. Perhaps for the immediate future, these can best be protected by the British. But, as soon as conditions permit, the British should begin the process of turning control over to Chinese administration.

Now, it is in examining the latter side of the question that the confusion arises. The Central Government's demonstrated inability to even begin to cope with the problems of peace, give fodder for the guns of all special groups who are busy explaining why Britain should retain Hongkong. We all are well aware of the arguments—Chungking cannot feed populations in liberated areas, Chungking's "taking-over" officials in all major cities entered to date have distinguished themselves mainly by their insatiable appetites for graft and general corruption, and so on and so on. Unfortunately, the majority of such charges are true. Chungking plainly was not prepared for peace.

However, we must not let these valid and semi-valid arguments espoused by the "special interest" groups blind us to the simple fact that Hongkong belongs to China.

We must remember that the loudest exponents of the "retain Hongkong" school today are recalcitrant British imperialists, rich Chinese individuals and corporations who wish to have a handy and stable foreign community in which they can hide their wealth from the Central Government, and certain dissident groups who wish to make political capital by pointing to the differences between British-recovered Hongkong and Chinese-recovered Shanghai.

It seems to us that a few things are necessary. First, Chungking should insist upon opening negotiations immediately with the British, while, second, Chungking should make a serious attempt to reform its present system of recovering liberated centers; a system which at present amounts to no more than parceling them out to various worthy militarists as spoils, to be exploited at will.

Repossession Of Cars

ACCORDING to local press reports, Shanghai car owners who lost their cars to the Japanese following Pearl Harbor are slowly getting them back—that is, they are getting them when they can be found by the Alien Property Administration.

A press report last week described the difficulties APA faces in finding these vehicles and said that so far 70 cars have been located and returned to their original owners.

Meanwhile, the problem of forcing Chinese Army officers to disgorge the numerous cars confiscated from the Japs, who earlier had confiscated them from the lawful owners, continued unsolved. Naturally, it is rather difficult to make any man give up a car these days and return to the unpleasant system of fighting his way into—and out of—busses and trams.

Occasionally, someone does get his car back though, as did a friend of ours a couple of weeks ago. His case is worth noting because it is one story of attempts, near success, failure, more attempts and final victory for which we can vouch.

This man saw his car some three months ago and managed to trace it to its garage in the compound of one of the city's generals. When approached the general assured our friend that he most certainly could have his car if he would return in a couple of days, when a receipt had been made out for it, etc., etc.

At the appointed time our friend called and was told by an aide that it was most regrettable, but the car had been "misplaced." Then followed negotiations, complaints to higher authorities and the final "victory" when the possessor of said vehicle was ordered to disgorge.

When the happy day arrived our friend called upon the general and was given the keys to his car. Although the battery, spare tire, tools and a few other miscellaneous, loose, easily-removable items were missing, the owner did not complain too much. But, before he was allowed to drive it off, the coup de grace was administered by an aide who insisted upon immediate payment of charges for "repairing" the car. The "repairs," which had been made in order to put the car in tip-top shape for our friend, came to approximately US$400. Our friend paid.

So, if you can find your car, there are ways of getting it back, expensive and unpleasant though they may be.

Trials of a Censor

ALTHOUGH censorship of the press, mails, telegraphs, etc. is scheduled to be abolished in Shanghai in the near future, the rather substantial corps of censors continues to operate in the local postoffice and, to all appearances, has not begun to pack its supply of scissors and paste pots or in any other way show signs of preparations for moving.

This last week we received a plaintive request relayed by the number one censor in which he asked that we divulge the names of those writing Letters to the Editor complaining of postal censorship. This letter writing, it was explained, was a dirty trick because censorship was supposed to be secret. Further, the censor doubted if the writers were really postal employees, as most have claimed to be, because they had not gotten the facts quite correct.

We sent word back to the censor that we would be more than happy to talk the matter over, but to date have not heard from him. It goes without saying that we declined the censor's request for the names and addresses of our correspondents.

Let us hope that the problem will be resolved by the early abolition of the censor's office and his transfer to some more happy post.

25 YEARS AGO IN THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

February 12, 1921

OLD PROBLEM

A prize of G.$100 has been offered by Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, former Chinese Minister to the United States and now Chinese Minister to England for an essay on any of the following subjects: 1/What should be the principal consideration in formulating a foreign policy for China, 2/Revitalizing China's economic life, 3/How can China's state system be best organized?

* * *

GROWING STRONG

The Peking Police have notified the International Anti-Opium Association and the press that 33,000 ounces of morphia, heroine and opium will be burned near the Temple of Agriculture.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

From February 15, 1936

LEAVE IT TO THEM

An article headed "Germany's right to Colonies" claimed that the country's racial ideals and national socialism will enable it to cooperate to a very special degree in the development of the black races, allow them to develop according to their own conditions and preserve their own peculiar features.

* * *

CLOSE TO HEART

Ambassador Saito: "To America what is going on in China is relatively a matter of little practical importance, but to the Japanese, closely related with China, and with many nationals living and trading there, it is of considerable moment.

The Red Crisis In China: Will Chiang Go The Way Of De Gaulle?

By J. B. POWELL
and
CHRISTOPHER EMMET

(From an American radio roundtab le discussion of Chinese-American relations.)

TODAY as bad news pours in from the strike front and from the four corners of the world, there is at least one bright spot in the news. In China we are told that the civil war has ended, and that the long sought unity between the Kuomintang and the Communists is about to be achieved.

If this be true, it will be good news indeed to the overwhelming majority of the American people, for although our attitude toward the Chinese Government has frequently been confused and influenced by different trends of propaganda, there is no real difference between us in our attitude toward the people of China. We not only admire the long suffering courage and patience of the Chinese people, but most Americans know that the Chinese fought against our common enemies longer than any other people in the world, with the least help in the form of lend-lease from us.

During the decade from 1927 to 1937 China made an amount of progress which proved the capacity of her ancient civilization to adapt itself to modern conditions, and it was largely because of this progress that Japan began her all out war in 1937. The plans for industrialization, for increased communications to unify China and for increased education to make China capable of democracy, were all cut short. Most of what little industry and communications China had was destroyed, and although China taught many millions of adults to read and write even during the war, she still is left far below the standard of literacy which alone will make complete democracy possible.

Period Prolonged

Realizing the inescapable necessity for national unity and education as pre-conditions for full democracy, the great founder of Chinese independence, Sun Yatsen, provided for a period of tutelage by his Kuomintang party until this foundation could be built. Later on the war prolonged the need for such an interim arrangement.

But taking advantage of the war to strengthen their position while the Kuomintang armies bore the brunt of the Japanese attack, the Communists threatened to unleash full scale civil war when peace came. To avoid this threat the American Government has brought increasing pressure to bear for a compromise, which is the purpose of General Marshall's mission today.

We are now told that the unity negotiations are about to succeed but we have heard the same thing before, and the same almost insuperable difficulties still remain. For the test of any Chinese coalition will not only be its ability to compromise Kuomintang-Communist differences, but its ability to muster enough strength to cope with a vast administrative emergency. Here are some of the immediate problems:

First there is the job of removing the government from the wartime capital, Chungking, back to Nanking. The distance alone is about 1500 miles and the only transportation available, aside from the limited number of transport planes, is by boat down the Yangtze. The removal of the capital back to Nanking also involves serious political considerations because of the large numbers of people at Chungking who obtain their incomes from governmental sources.

One wonders what the hordes of bureaucrats in Washington would do if it should suddenly become necessary to transfer our capital from Washington to—say Independence, Missouri, and then back again to Washington and the only means of transportation would be by boat down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and the Missouri.

Many Difficulties

Aside from purely domestic issues, including the critical relief problem, and aside from the difficulties with Russia over Manchuria, there is the serious problem of readjusting relations with other foreign nations and interests on an entirely new basis, due to treaty revisions which took place during the war. Recently there have been reports that the French are trying to renege on their offer to surrender extraterritoriality, claiming that the treaty has not yet been signed. In the meantime the Americans and the British have already surrendered their extraterritorial rights.

Foreign business firms are trying to re-establish their offices under the new conditions and, according to reports are experiencing considerable difficulty. China insists that all firms must reincorporate under Chinese law, under regulations which some foreign concerns claim are unworkable.

These are only some of the problems facing the Government. But involved in all of them is plenty of political dynamite. One of the main cudgels which the Communists have used to belabor the Government is that the Central Government has been too subservient to foreigners, particularly the Americans and the British. The Chinese Reds have constantly, since the beginning of the war charged that Chungking was the puppet of the Americans and the British.

The problem of unity with the Communists in China therefore must be considered in the light of the need for a strong government to meet these special reconstruction problems. The question is how far can Chiang abdicate his own control and that of his party, which he inherited from Doctor Sun Yatsen, without risking an even greater breakdown of administration than has taken place already. Since the need for a period of tutelage cannot be considered fully over, can the necessary executive control be safely shared with the Communist party of China? There is also the Democratic League, but as it is a loosely joined party of intellectuals with little organized power, the real choice is Kuomintang or Communists, or both together.

Same Problem

Perhaps the best way to understand Chiang's problem in taking the Communists into his government is to realize that it is precisely the same dilemma that General de Gaulle has just failed to solve in France. Though France was a highly advanced democracy with a literate electorate, it, too, suffered from a weak executive before the war, which was one of the factors which brought about its collapse in the face of Nazi aggression. After the war General de Gaulle and his followers proposed a new constitution under the Fourth Republic, which would increase the stability of democratic government by increasing the power of the executive. In short de Gaulle proposed a constitution more along the lines of our American system where great power is vested in the President at all times and still greater power can be delegated in times of emergency.

In the meantime General de Gaulle proposed strong interim powers for the acting president while the new constitution was being worked out. He was willing to take Communists into his cabinet and did so. But he refused to permit any Communist to hold any cabinet post connected with foreign policy or national defense, on the ground that the Communists could not be trusted because of their loyalty to a foreign government. It is fundamentally because of this attitude that General de Gaulle has now been forced by Communist obstruction to resign.

Now if General de Gaulle took this logical stand with the apparent approval of most democrats in France and throughout the world, how much more justified would be a firm attitude toward the Communists on the part of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek? For unlike the French Communists the Chinese Communists have their own army, and whereas France is removed from Russia by many hundreds of miles, China has the longest common frontier in the world with Soviet Russia.

We are told that the Chinese Communists are not Marxists; that they have no connection with their source in Moscow. The Chinese Communists, if one would believe the statements put out by their professional defenders in this country, are simple agrarians, interested only in improving the welfare of the Chinese peasant farmers.

Recently, when the Chinese Reds seized the strategic city of Kalgan on the border of Inner-Mongolia, northwest of Peiping, they gave evidence of a different sort of motivation. There was an excellent account in the HERALD-TRIBUNE by A. T. Steele. Methods which the Reds followed in Kalgan were reminiscent of the red-terrorism which was common practice back in 1927, when the Communists participated in the Nationalist Revolution, and which were responsible for the break between the Kuomintang and the Russian (Trotsky)-led and inspired Chinese Communists of that era.

What the Chinese Communists did recently at Kalgan, inspired an editorial writer in the NEW YORK TIMES to produce the following bit of irony:

> "When the Chinese Communists seize a town the first thing they do is to arrest all of their opponents and where necessary shoot them. They then distribute the land among the people and decree a 100 percent increase in wages. Then they set up a secret police and concentration camp. They permit only official papers to be published and they prohibit all opposition meetings. Now, when you read all this, don't fall into the error of mistaking them for Communists—they are just a lot of simple Chinese agrarians."

As a matter of fact, precisely the same claim that "they are not Communists but reformers", which we are now familiar with in connection with China, can be made with equal truth about the Communists in France, Yugoslavia, Mexico, America or Brazil. None of these Communist parties adhere to old fashioned Communist programs. They work with the reactionary dictator Vargas in Brazil, with reactionary Tammany elements in New York City or with former Fascists in Yugoslavia whenever it serves their tactical purpose. The test of a modern Communist is not loyalty to Marx but loyalty to Stalin—which was why General de Gaulle would not give them key cabinet posts.

Is it in America's interest to force Chiang Kai-shek to do so?

Answer

In this connection, Lin Yutang summarized some of the evidence in regard to China's Communists in THE NATION of March 24, 1945 in the course of a devastating answer to Edgar Snow's review of his book, "Vigil of a Nation":

> "If there is still any mystery about the similarity of these Communists to the members in other countries all over the world, their record of primary loyalty to Moscow will banish it. I cannot exonerate people who fail to report on the extreme isolationist attitude of the Chinese Communists during Stalin's pact with Hitler, or on the sharply anti-British and anti-American attitude of Mao Tse-tung, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, 1935-43. Hitler was a "mad dog" before the pact; during the pact he was graciously referred to as 'chief of state' (yuan shou); after June 22, 1941, he became a contemptible cur again. I can give the dates of a dozen editorials of the Communist daily published in Chungking. How about the 'Hands Off European War' editorial of May 12, 1941, coming awkwardly forty days before June 22? How about the editorial of April 25, 1940, calling joining the European war a 'certain road to death? How about Mao Tse-tung's strident demand for 'absolute neutrality' and his assertion that Roosevelt's lend-lease to England was 'false neutrality', designed to 'embroil' the United States in 'the second imperialist war'? How about the sudden flare-up of intensive fratricidal warfare beginning with the signing of the pact in the summer of 1939? How about the Communist endorsement of Stalin's recognition of Japan's 'Manchukuo' frontiers? And finally, how about Mao Tse-tung's calling the Anglo-American imperialists 'sons-of-bitches' (tama, with a four-letter English word understood), while sparing the Japanese imperialists in the same sentence ("The New Democracy", p. 45)? How about his ridiculing those who think there is a difference between Anglo-American and Japanese imperialists?"

Recently there has been considerable controversy concerning a small book written by Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Red leader, which is entitled "A Discussion of the New Democracy." A popular edition of this book sold here in New York contains an introduction by Earl Browder, the now deposed American Communist leader. This book is supposed to be the last word on Chinese Communist doctrine and is required home work for all faithful Communists, regardless of nationality. It is widely used by professional spokesmen for the Chinese Reds in this country and is extensively quoted by lecturers.

In simple language Mao's book is supposed to explain the Red leader's views on the subject of "compromising" the principles of "democracy" and "communism".

Recently, in connection with some research work conducted by some Americans (one a Catholic priest), a remarkable discovery was made—which will not surprise anyone familiar with Communist propaganda tactics. It appears that the original Chinese version of Mao's book, written for home consumption among his followers in China, differs materially from the version put out in this country for American consumption.

Original

Time is not available for a complete review of the two editions, but the original, that is in the Chinese language, Mao refers to the democracies, including China, America and Great Britain as "the bloody military dictatorships of the capitalist class." The word he uses—a common Chinese expletion—cannot be translated into printable English.

With reference to China's association with the United Nations—excepting Russia of course—Mao declared that China would be in the position of a puppet, similar to the Wang Ching-wei puppet government in Nanking. Throughout the book Mao voices his extreme hatred of the democracies and makes the statement that it amounted to "treason" for China to enter into alliance with the democracies. He said that it was no more possible to cooperate with the democracies in the war than it is to "serve God and Mammon."

The significant element in the book is that it answers quite definitely the question, "Are the Chinese Communists real Communists?" Mao certainly says they are, and leaves no question as to his hatred of American democracy and its works.

We have seen that it was not enough for General de Gaulle to have the majority of French people behind him in the last election, just as we have reason to believe that the majority of the Chinese people support the Generalissimo.

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De Gaulle found that he could not rule France on behalf of this majority against the open or secret opposition of the highly organized Communist minority enjoying the support of a foreign power, unless the French Assembly delegated wide powers to him now, and unless similar power was provided for under the new constitution.

In the light of these facts, the degree of power which we have urged Chiang to grant the Chinese Communists would seem enough to force China irretrievably into the Russian orbit, to the eventual sacrifice of American-Chinese friendship and the Open Door policy which we have promoted for so long.

The Chinese Communists have shown their feelings toward us not only by their speeches and publications but by their military activities in the American zone of Northern China. Chinese Communists do not want our help in Asia. They do not want us in Asia at all. They want only the cooperation of the Soviet Union. That accounts for the slogans of those students who demanded the evacuation of our soldiers and encouraged the agitation in China to get the boys home. We are faced with the revival of the old Communist-Isolationist alliance which tried to prevent American aid to either Britain or China during the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Fired On

It should be of significance to every thing American that American soldiers in China have been fired on by Communist troops, that American planes have been shot at by Red troops and that American aviators have been detained in Red areas. This is the first time since the Boxer uprising in China nearly a half century ago that American soldiers or marines have been fired on by hostile Chinese forces. We should give that matter serious thought when we are trying to force the recognized Chinese national government, the government which fought with us and for us in the war, to merge with the Chinese Communists.

A wiser policy, a policy which it may not be too late for us to pursue is to put our pressure on the Communists to make concessions, instead of on the Generalissimo. If we thus support the necessary basic authority for the Generalissimo and his legitimate government, we will have a far stronger influence to bring about vital political and economic reforms within his party which now includes many corrupt and reactionary elements. For the more the Communists in China have been strengthened, the more the Generalissimo, as well as anti-Communist liberals, have been forced to depend upon reactionary elements in order to resist Communist usurpation. For most Chinese, like everyone else, prefer even a reactionary or corrupt regime to a Trojan Horse government, manned by the Chinese puppets of a foreign dictator.

UNO Charter Offers Little Hope To Colonial Peoples

By E. LEOPOLD RISSIN

IN their appraisal of the UNO structure, most observers judge the future of the organization entirely from the view of its ability to solve the "atomic problem." But, in the years of peace, is not the fate of the half of humanity still fettered by the chains of colonial exploitation of equal concern to mankind? If the underlying *motif* of the Charter of the United Nations is to provide the maximum amount of good to the maximum number of people, then surely the fate of half of mankind is of paramount importance.

It is therefore imperative to examine the articles in the Charter which deal with the colonial problem and after examining them, to weigh them in the scales of history, whose voice alone is decisive in the ultimate analysis.

Chapter XII of the Chapter, entitled "International Trusteeship System," contains the following articles among others:—

Article 77:

(1) The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

(a) territories now held under mandate;

(b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and

(c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

(2) It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Read that article through for the second time, and then think back to the old League of Nations mandate system. Have we in any way progressed in our sympathy for colonial peoples and their aspirations? Has the world in reality advanced along the road to international morality and justice, or is history repeating itself, but with a different choice of dubious phrases and reservations to sugarcoat the bitter pill of colonial slavery? Law, in its essence, depends for its validity upon the power of sanction. Yet where does the power of sanction come in Article 77 of the Charter which contains such phrases as "may be placed thereunder," "voluntarily placed under the system" and "a matter for subsequent agreement." Boil the entire article down and this remains: the individual states still have the power of life or death over any and all territories under their jurisdiction—and you have a true picture of what the high sounding phrases mean. And when put into execution, the articles of the trusteeship system will replace enlightenment with illusion. For what the Charter needs, and needs right from the start, is fewer "mays" and more "musts." Every time the word "may" occurs in the Charter, there is a loophole left for any transgressor against the peace. And in the entire Charter there is no other Chapter which is so profusely dotted with "mays."

Looking further into the fateful twelfth chapter of the charter, here are some other points on the trusteeship system as laid down in articles 75 to 85. Article 75 states that the trusteeship system shall apply to such territories "as *may* be placed thereunder by subsequent *individual agreement*." Article 76 lays down the basic objectives of the trusteeship system, which are listed as the promotion of international peace and security, the promotion of the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants and their development towards self-government or independence, to encourage respect for human rights, and to ensure equal treatment to all. Article 78 states that

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the system shall not apply to those territories which have become members of UNO. Article 79 states that the terms of the trusteeship shall, for alterations or amendments, depend upon agreement of the states directly concerned *and the mandatory power.* Article 80 states that until trusteeship agreements have been concluded nothing in the chapter "shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever *of any states* or peoples" or the "terms of existing international instruments." And so we could go on indefinitely, scrutinizing each article. Though different terminology is used, and different phrases crop up, the gist remains essentially the same, namely, that a ruling state remains a ruling state unencumbered by any legal obligations, while a ruled people remains a ruled people, protected by no legal rights.

Nowhere in the Charter do we find any allusion to the immutable rights of the peoples coming under trusteeship administration. Nowhere do we find limits imposed in the exercise of power by the state administering the trusteeship. Yet the delegates to the San Francisco conference maintained that they had made a great stride forward. Let us view the question in the light of subsequent events.

Britain, colonial power No. 1, signified its willingness to turn existing mandates into trusteeships with the exception of Palestine, which would remain in the present state pending the results of the Anglo-American investigation. No mention was made of territories such as Malaya, Burma, African colonies, Pacific possessions, or other territories annexed before the last war. South Africa, paying lip service to UNO acquiesced to turn former German colonies into trusteeships. But following this came a report that the Union was considering the outright annexation of South-West Africa.

France countered by stating that she was considering the granting of "dominion status" to Togoland and the Cameroons. Nothing was said about the more advanced parts of her colonial empire such as Indo-China or parts of French North Africa. Explanation: Togoland and the Cameroons are the only mandated territories now held by France, hence their need for "dominion status." Indo-China is just a colony, nothing more, so France did not bring up the question of its administration.

Nor did Holland take note of her vast colonial possessions (and this did not come from a fear that Indonesia was lost to her for good).

Thus the entire Chapter XII of the Charter is a travesty of justice. Nations will agree to turn into trusteeships, only those territories which were wrested from another power a decade ago. But to those territories conquered before that time, the colonial powers feel that they owe no responsibilities. Nor were non-colonial powers the only ones to note this discrepancy between fact and legal fiction. Said plain-speaking Peter Fraser of New Zealand: "Mandated territories do not belong to the mandate power."

But Fraser could have gone a step further and stated that no colonial territories belong to the possessor powers. Sovereignty there resides essentially in the native inhabitants, and no amount of twisting the concepts of international law will prove the contrary.

The true test will come when the delegates to UNO consider the recommendation of the United States that the draft of the trusteeship resolutions be amended to require all colonial powers to extend the benefits of the trusteeship system to all non-self-ruling peoples. It can be confidently predicted that states such as China, New Zealand and others will support the United States motion. But what will be the stand of France, Holland, the United Kingdom and others who have nothing to gain and everything to lose by the creation of an iron-clad trusteeship system?

But if the United States' proposal goes a long way, there still remains the question of guaranteeing the protection of the colonial peoples. Why are there no provisions for the establishment of popular councils? It can be argued that many of the peoples have not yet reached a stage where they can delve into the problems of government. But there are individuals in every territory, however backward, who, thanks to a modern higher education, can distinguish between graft and administrative honesty, and between exploitation and enlightened rule. Further, the concept of a "protecting power" may find its application in the trusteeship set-up. In war, every belligerent has a "protecting power" to protect the interests of its nationals in an enemy country. Now why is it impossible for the peoples of every trusteeship to elect a "protecting power" who, while not participating in the administration of the territory, can act in the capacity of ward and protector of the native inhabitants. Why cannot the system which provides so many advantages in war, provide equal benefits in peace?

Thus, if history is not to weigh the United Nations Charter in the balance and "find it wanting," the following must immediately, and unreservedly, be put into operation:—

(1) All non-self-ruling territories, without exception, must be placed under the trusteeship system.

(2) Representative councils of the native inhabitants in each trusteeship must be established to represent the native populations.

(3) The native inhabitants must elect a "protecting power" which shall protect the interests and aspirations of the native inhabitants.

(4) At least one quarter of the revenues of the territory must be devoted to the improvement and expansion of educational facilities.

Only when these recommendations have been put into force will it be possible for UNO delegates to voice their confidence that not only their own security and prosperity is being protected and furthered, but also that of the other half of mankind which is still fettered by the chains of colonial exploitation and human degradation. If peace is indivisible, so, too, is human liberty.

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Kunming Industrial Plants In Grip Of Post-War Depression

By CHARLES J. CANNING

THE golden age of Kunming's war-time boom is no more. Once the much-longed-for and much-dreamed-of El Dorado for unscrupulous profiteers, smugglers and speculators, Kunming fell into the slough of depression after the surrender of Japan just as suddenly and dramatically as it jumped into prosperity during the war.

Adventurers and profiteers are signing for the "good old days" when one could become a millionaire or multi-millionaire overnight through speculation or hoarding or by dealing in United States currency.

For the common man, however, these "good old days" were not so "good" and he has been waiting impatiently for more than eight long years for the war to be over. However, to his complete disappointment, the "nightmare" has not ended with the war. The return of peace failed to bring the easy life and the bright opportunity for peaceful pursuit of happiness that he had expected. Instead, for the common man times are just as hard as ever, if not harder. It is like the proverbial jump from the frying pan into the fire.

Since V-J Day there has been an acute economic depression in Kunming, with local industries being hit hardest. The sudden and precipitous drop in commodity prices after the Japanese surrender and the terrific shrinking of demand have delivered staggering blows to Kunming's industries. Many factories, unable to withstand the first shock of these blows, have been knocked out of existence.

50 Percent Closed

Statistics compiled by the China Federation of Industries, Yunnan Branch, revealed that in November, 1945, out of 77 industrial establishments in Kunming, only 40 were still operating, and these on a reduced basis, while the rest had either closed completely or were at a standstill. These figures make interesting reading, for they break down the various establishments according to ownership, as well as by industry.

Of the 77, thirteen were owned by the Central Government, 19 by the Provincial Government and 45 were privately owned. It is the private industries that have suffered most, as the following table will indicate:

	Number	Closed	Percentage
Total Factories			
Central Government Owned	13	5	39%
Yunnan Government Owned	19	6	32%
Privately Owned	45	26	58%

The foregoing table speaks for itself and any comment would be superfluous. However, that was in November, 1945. Two months have passed since and things have gone from bad to worse. According to an estimate made by Dr. Paul H. Hsu, director of the Yunnan Branch of the China Federation of Industries, almost 90 percent of Kunming's industries are closed today.

Government Plants

Let us look a little more closely into the situation of industries owned by Central Government interests. During the war the National Resources Commission of the Ministry of Economic Affairs established in Kunming a number of plants, the most important being the Central Electrical Manufacturing Works (中央電工器材廠), the Central Machine Work (中央機器廠) the Kunming Electro-metallurgical Works (昆明電冶廠), the Central Radio Manufacturing Works, Kunming Branch (中央無線電器材廠昆明分廠) the Kunming Chemical Works (昆明化工材料廠) and the Kunming Lake Side Electricity Works (昆湖廠). These factories were not only the best-equipped and staffed plants of their kind in Yunnan, but also the best in China. With the single exception of the Kunming Lake Side Electricity Works, all the others have either moved out or closed down pending evacuation or liquidation. The Central Electrical Manufacturing Works has moved to Nanking, with a branch in Hankow. The Central Radio Manufacturing Works is on its way to Peiping. The Central Electro-metallurgical Works and the Central Machine Works have folded up. The Kunming Chemical Works is in a state of standstill. The Kunming Lake Side Electricity Works is operating at only 10 percent of capacity, producing some 400 kilowatts daily in comparison with its normal output of 4000 kilowatts.

Although industries owned by the Yunnan Provincial Government are in better shape, they too have been compelled to cut down production and enforce retrenchment. The Yu Tien Cotton Mill has suspended its night shift and laid off many workers. Wages have been cut and high salaried, skilled workers have been replaced by lower-paid, unskilled women laborers.

War Boom Over

The present desperate straits in which Kunming's industrial establishments now find themselves mainly are due to the fact that a great number of the factories were established during the war to meet war-time needs and they depended almost entirely upon military orders. It is, therefore, only natural that with the withdrawal of U.S. forces and the transfer of Chinese troops from the province many of these war-born factories should collapse. The closing of the American Army's Services of Supply resulted in the subsequent closing of almost 98 percent of Kunming's alcohol plants and machine shops.

A contributing factor was that many plants had brought in large quantities of raw materials at high prices before the war ended and so their costs of production were still great when the price fall came. This drop of market prices was speeded up by large hoarders who, becoming frightened at the sudden end of the war, dumped enormous quantities of goods on the local market within a few days after the Japanese surrender. For local industries, this became the last straw.

Unemployment Rising

Depression's attendant evil—unemployment—has become a major factor in Kunming's life for the

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first time in many years. In fact, during the war there was a labor scarcity, especially in the skilled labor fields. Since V-J Day, the situation has been reversed with large numbers out of work. A Provincial Government spokesman late in November said that there then were about 50,000 unemployed, but informed and competent circles placed the number much higher. According to the census taken in January of this year, Kunming's population was reported to be 300,000. If this figure is correct, it means that at least one out of every six persons in the city is jobless.

There has been much talk about government loans to industrial establishments in order to enable them to tide over the transition period. Up to the present time no actual relief has been received, in spite of the fact that urgent petitions have been sent to Chungking by local industrialists. Moreover, news of the Central Government's decision to create trust-like state-operated industries such as the Chinese Textile Corporation has caused considerable uneasiness and apprehension in local industrial circles.

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Chinese Public Opinion Survey On 8 National, World Issues

By C. Y. W. Meng

IN China, editors and publicists have rarely taken steps to make a survey of public opinion on timely national and international problems. In fact, if China is to enter the period of constitutionalism, as she is fighting to do today, the development of—and due respect for—public opinion by the government are two indispensable steps towards the early democratization of China.

The Democracy Weekly, one of the most influential Chinese-language magazines in China, published in Kunming, has rendered a very valuable service to the nation by conducting a preliminary survey of Chinese public opinion on the following eight subjects:

Who Is To Blame?

(1) Is it possible to stop the civil war?

(2) Who is responsible for the civil war this time?

(3) Could the Political Consultative Council (PCC) arrive at concrete conclusions?

(4) Should the election of the representatives to the National Assembly in 1935 be still valid today?

(5) Should China *immediately* hold a general election?

(6) Will the continued presence of the American Army in China do us any good? Is the United States interfering in Chinese internal affairs?

(7) Is American treatment of Japan too lenient?

(8) Should China and Soviet Russia jointly take part in the control of Japan?

Result Of Survey Told

In the December 8, 1945 issue, the *Weekly* announced the result of the survey. Altogether no less than 114 answers were received from its readers. With the exception of answers to the problems of stopping the civil war and a general election, answers to which are somewhat divided, the rest are almost unanimous.

Among 114 who answered these questions, there are university professors, middle and primary school teachers, government employees, engineers, students, physicians, pressmen, nurses, mechanics, military officers and soldiers and small shop proprietors and employees. When classified, they are 62 government employees, 21 university and middle school students, 8 free vocational people, 8 laborers, 3 merchants, 4 military officers and soldiers, and 8 others not classified.

To Question I—"Is it possible to stop civil war?"—49 answers, or 39 percent, said "possible," 58, or 50 percent, replied "not possible," and 7, or 11 percent gave no opinion.

Majority Pessimistic

Those who opined "not possible" entertain the most pessimistic outlook on the political situation in China. Some of them believe that the present civil war "has assumed the character of a struggle between democratic and anti-democratic blocs." One 28-year-old nurse even believed that "in order to win a true democracy, we must resort to force and shed our blood."

To Problem 2—"who is responsible for civil war this time?"—66 answers, or 57 percent, put the blame on the Kuomintang, 8, or 7 percent, on the Chinese Communist Party, 27, or 24 percent, on "both sides," and 14, or 12 percent, gave "no opinion."

In the opinion of these people, in locating the responsibility for this civil war, the criterion of judgment is not so much who fired the "First Shot" as who has created a situation, politically as well as militarily, which led to the outbreak of civil war. Those who put the blame on "both sides" and those who had "no opinion" simply explain that owing to rigid censorship, only one-sided stories previously had been published, hence "it is not possible to form any judgment." But others point out that "the Chinese people will not pardon the United States for her reactionary policy, which is also responsible for starting the civil war in China, despite repeated Hurley-Wedemeyer explanations."

PCC Discounted

To Problem 3—"Could the PCC reach some concrete conclusion?"—only 13 answers, or 11 percent, replied "Could," while 83, or 81 percent, think "Could Not," and 7, or 5 percent, gave "No Opinion."

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Most of these people base their judgments on the bitter experience of the past, and for this reason many of them are highly sceptical concerning the success of the PCC. "Lack of sincerity on the part of the authorities" is cited as the principal reason. On the other hand, one pressman, in his answer points out that whether or not the PCC could reach a successful conclusion depends on "whether the public's democratic sentiment will be strong enough to overcome the anti-democratic forces." Should the former prove stronger, he predicts, the "PCC will achieve results although sincerity on the part of the authorities is lacking."

To Problem 4—"should the election of the representatives to the National Assembly in 1935 be still valid today?"—, only two answers, or 1.8 percent, assert their validity while 112, or 98.2 percent, say they are "Not Valid."

General Elections Favored

It is significant to note that opinions holding that the elections are today invalid are almost unanimous. The reason is not hard to seek. As pointed out by many other commentators, 10 years ago thousands of the Chinese youths had not reached the required age to enjoy the right to elect and to be elected. Today they can do so. If the election of 1935 was considered still valid, it would deprive many of the younger generation of this right.

To Problem 5—"Should China immediately hold a general election?"—76 answers, or 67 percent, replied "Should," and 38, or 33 percent, said "Should Not."

One professor of an engineering college simply answered that "It is not the time," while 11 others, in a joint answer, pointed out that the question is not so much "should" or "should not" as "possible" or "not possible," and conclude that "the key to the present political situation in China lies with the formation of a coalition government. It is because that only under a coalition government could a general election produce its motivating power and good results."

Coalition Regime Urged

Those whose answers fall in the "should not" category, also share the view that what should be done *immediately* is not the holding of general elections, but the formation of a coalition government. According to their opinion," general elections held under the rule of one party, which has been in power for the past 20 years, are likely to be under the monopoly and manipulation of the same autocratic party. Therefore, only after the formation of a coalition government, when all political parties are on an equal footing and when all specially privileged blocs are abolished, will the time come to hold a general election."

One student of an engineering school admitted that there are many difficulties ahead for an immediate general election, but believed that "the National Government should not take this as an excuse to postpone the returning of political power to the people. On the contrary," he continues, "the Government should invite the representatives of other parties and non-party members to participate in the Government."

Another employee of a soap factory cites three prerequisites for general elections. They are:

1. A pledge by the Government to protect the basic freedoms of the people.
2. Equality and legalization of all political parties in the country.
3. Equal opportunity to conduct nation-wide propaganda work among the people in the pre-election period.

GI's Unwanted

To Problem 6—"Would the continued presence of the American Army in China do us any good?" and "Do you think that the United States is interfering with Chinese internal affairs?"—only 6 answers, or 5 percent, are positive while 95, or 83 percent, are negative and 13, or 12 percent, gave "no opinion."

One young Chinese officer of the 60th Army, after citing an incident when one American soldier broke a wine bottle over the head of a Chinese boy in the street during the "Jeep Girl disturbances," asked: "After the Japanese surrender, what is the use for Americans staying in China?" The *Weekly* points out that many other answers, when studied, show clearly that the Chinese people are unable to find any reason why American boys should remain here. Those who gave "No Opinion" simply say that "It is a diplomatic problem, and we do not like to express our opinion."

To Problem 7—"Do you think that American treatment of Japan is too lenient?"—107 answers, or 94 percent, replied "Too Lenient," and only 3, or 2.6 percent, said "Just," and 4, or 3.4 per cent, gave "No Opinion."

Joint Control Favored

To Problem 8—"Should China and Soviet Russia jointly take part in the control of Japan?"—113 answers, or 99.2 percent, said "Should," and only one, or 0.8 per cent, said "Should Not."

One answer in the "Should Not" category points out that China's inability to put her own house in order automatically disqualifies her from taking part in the control of Japan. As to Soviet participation, one 28-year-old government employee points out that "Soviet Russia did not play a great part in the defeat of Japan, and, yet, she has already got something. So, fundamentally, she should not take part in the control of Japan."

This survey of Chinese public opinion on timely and pressing problems, although preliminary and on a small scale, is, nevertheless, the first of its kind ever undertaken by Chinese editors. A close study of these answers and other leading editorials and writings from other independent papers will show us the trend of Chinese public opinion as well as the possible way out for China today.

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NEWS OF THE WEEK

James Bertram Returns To Tokyo With FEC

JAMES Bertram was captured in Hongkong, together with Major Charles Boxer, by the Japanese and was later taken to the Omori Prison Camp near Tokyo's waterfront. He was on his way to Chunking as British Embassy Press Attache, when he fell into the hands of the enemy and spent long months as a war prisoner and later on as stevedore at the Tokyo platform goods yard for refusing to be the script writer for the notorious Tokyo Rose.

When Bertram came back to Tokyo as New Zealand's delegate to the Far Eastern Commission, he revisited his old camp and ripped away a few boards of his prison of yore, where he had scratched poetic phrases in the long hours of confinement.

One of these was a quotation from La Pasionaria, famous woman revolutionist of the Spanish Civil War; which says 'It is better to die on your feet, than live on your knees."

When he refused the Japanese proposal to write scripts for Tokyo Rose, he was relegated to hard labor as a stevedore and later thrown into solitary confinement for throwing down his haversack instead of depositing it carefully for inspection.

Both Bertram and Major Boxer, the latter representing Britain, are now delegates to the FEC.

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China Awaits All-Party Government In March

FOLLOWING the Political Consultative Council convention, which adjourned shortly before the Lunar New Year holidays, a plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang Party opened in Chungking, to ratify and discuss the agreements reached at the PCC.

The Chinese Communists, likewise, will call their central committee to debate on measures passed at the political convention and problems pertaining to national peace and reconstruction.

While concrete measures were reached at the meeting of the Marshall Truce Committee, composed of American, Chinese Nationalist and Communist representatives, for the restoration of rail communications in China, a government reshuffle loomed with a possibility of Dr. Sun Fo as the President of the Executive Yuan, and Dr. T. V. Soong as special envoy to the United States.

The Communists on the other hand are expected to nominate their top-party men for government position, including Chairman of the Party Mao Tse-tung, No. 2 Communist Chou En-lai and guerilla General Chu Teh.

The new all-Party Government is expected to materialize early in March, upon the completion of the plenary session of the CEC of the Kuomintang, which may be its last as the ruling authority of the country.

General Ho Ying-ching, Supreme Commander of the Chinese Nationalist Army had the last say in the charges and counter charges of cease-fire violations, when he outlined alleged Communist activities on all fronts and added that the Nationalist had maintained "a defensive attitude throughout."

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Chengtu Scribes Appeal For Freedom of Speech

WHILE the Political Consultative Council was still in session many appeals were sent to it by groups of Chinese citizens who saw in it hope for the righting of wrongs sustained by them. Thirty-two reporters of Chengtu papers signed a petition to the PCC appealing for freedom of speech and publication and asking for assurances of free acesses to news.

Their letter listed "oppression and suffering" undergone by these journalists at the hands of "undemocratic government" during the last years, and stated the time had come for all common men to voice their sentiments.

Their major demand was for absolute freedom of speech and publication, with the immediate abolition of the special registration of papers and magazines now in practice.

They protested against the monopoly by the Central News Agency on domestic and international news and stated that access to news should be free to all.

The abolition of censorship of mails and cables was further urged in the appeal, as also the news censorship in recovered areas.

To complete the emancipation of the Chinese reporter they suggested the institution of a school of journalism, while a Reporters' Association should be free to organize.

The petition ended with the demand for the immediate release of all arrested reporters and the severe punishment of traitor newspapermen.

* * *

DR. GEORGE SELLETT, prominent Shanghai lawyer and legal adviser to Pan-American Airways, arrived in Shanghai from Chungking this week.

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Power Of Village Heads In Anhwei Deplored

A FEATURE article appearing in the Hsin Min Pao, in Chungking, depicts the exhorbitant demands presented to the population in Anhwei Province by village paochang or chiachang (village or street heads), whose power has grown incommensurately with their usefulness.

The paochang appears at the gate of a resident and demands donations in money or in kind which range from bedding and luggage, to flour, spices and poultry. Both the village head and the street chief invariably stress that these donations are collected for social purposes, which include the entertainment of their superiors when they pass through the town or village. Entertainment ranges from meals and wine, to women and song.

Besides these donations, the paper says, the inhabitants are approached for subscriptions to the Tang rice (Army rice for General Tang En-po), Honan rice (Rice for Honan relief), self-government fee, land tax, sub-food allowance and a dozen other taxes, reliefs and allowances. Things came to such a state that people were asked to pay a Victory tax when Japan surrendered.

Hsin Min Pao's feature writer having given the ends, describes the means wherewith the people are deprived or cajoled out of their money and stocks by these village and street chiefs: they appeal to the man of influence, threaten the man of equal standing and curse and hit the ordinary mortal.

People do not dare to resist these paochangs and chiachangs for the simple reason that these lords have well-trained, centralized organizations of secretaries and guards, who likewise prey on the populace in their spare time.

Any person resisting a paochang will invariably find himself in jail where he will be beaten, the writer says, and adds that these village heads are held in great reverence for this reason, if for no other.

* * *

About 3000 local Russians sent a cable to Generalissimo Joseph Stalin thanking him for the recent Supreme Soviet decree whereby all Russian emigres were reinstated in citizenship.

* * *

JAMES T. NICHOLSON, Vice-Chairman of the American Red Cross in charge of Insular and Foreign Operations, now on a six-week tour of A.R.C. installations in the Pacific and Far East Theaters, arrived in this city early this week.

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CARTOONIST LOW LOOKS AT THE "STATE OF THE AMERICAN UNION"

A London conception of the greeting Herbert Morrison got in the United States.

Palestine Commission Discovers Main Issue

FOLLOWING almost a month and a half of probing into the points of contention between the Arabs and the Jews, the joint Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry arrived at the conclusion that the main hitch was still the conflicting outlook of both parties on this land called Palestine.

While the Arabs, starting out with a premise that the country was primarily THEIR home, agreed to accept a limited number of "homeless" Jewish immigrants from Europe, provided other countries would do likewise, the Jews, on the other hand, began their side of the argument with the postulate that Palestine was THEIR home, and that no "humanitarian" attitude on the part of the Arabs was required to admit at least 1,200,000 Jews into the country in the next 10 years.

Thus, while superficial observers gathered that progress in the solution of this dispute was being made, the deadlock remained as decided as ever and will, apparently, remain until either party backs down on its view on the Holy Land.

A new coal-digging machine has been invented by Clarence E. Brown in the United States. The machine will dig and load 3000 tons of coal in two shifts—the work of seven of the present type machines.

* * *

The Army newpaper Stars and Stripes editorially pointed out to the fact that servicemen here were getting a bill of CNC$15,000 for every CNC$10,000 they spent due to the amusement tax. The paper stressed that the Tientsin Municipal Government had abolished this tax for servicemen and asked the SMG to do the same.

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EVENTS IN BRIEF

In a circular issued early this week by Headquarters of the United States Armed Forces, China, are listed penalties for traffic violations ranging from pay forfeiture to reduction in grade and imprisonment. This circular is accompanied by a memo reiterating recent statements by Lieutenant General A. C. Wedemeyer on the prevention of accidents.

* * *

Following the fake atom-bomb broadcast over Paris radio last week, two Parisians are reported to have died from shock. Doctors and hospitals were busy treating people suffering from nervous disorders from the "too realistic" broadcast.

* * *

Chungking women's groups, sponsored by the committee of the Central Women's Movements and the Women's Department of the Kuomintang Youth Corps met early this week to discuss participation of women in the coming sessions of the National Assembly scheduled for May 1.

* * *

Major rehabilitation projects, including the Yellow River projects and repairs to the Canton-Hankow railway, tackled by UNRRA are said to be in full swing under the joint administration of UNRRA and the Chinese Government, according to Ralph Olmstead, UNRRA Director of Operations, China Office.

* * *

The promotion of air-mindedness among the Chinese masses as an asset to national defense was stressed by Mayor Chien Ta-chun, who presided at the inauguration of the Shanghai Branch of the China Aviation Reconstruction Association last week.

* * *

A regular broadcast over radio station XMHC has been started by CNRRA commencing February 7. Brief news items relating to CNRRA-UNRRA affairs, classical and popular music as well as performances by well-known local artists will be featured.

* * *

The 4300 strong local Austrian community joyfully received news of the legislation passed by the Austrian provisional Government last week granting citizenship rights to all nationals of the country as of March 1938.

* * *

The waterfront strike which tied up Manila harbor last week threatened to spread to other labor fronts as the Committee of Labor Organization announced that its members would walk out for higher wages.

* * *

The Chinese Government is consulting with Russian authorities in Manchuria on the question of the withdrawal of Russian forces from that part of China.

* * *

Officials of the French Club here denied that their recent order cancelling all memberships after 1942 was directed at the exclusion of Chinese members and said that this was aimed at discrediting undesirable members admitted by the Vichy-appointed committee.

* * *

An injunction applied for by Messrs. N. W. Chien and Y. K. Chang on behalf of the New Asia Hotel was obtained last week from the Shanghai District Court in the suit filed by A. Corrit for the re-possession of the hotel premisees.

* * *

Almost 2,000,000 Chinese were killed in the areas of China under Japanese occupation during eight years of war, the Communist New China Daily News reported last week.

The first post-war labor dispute hit Hongkong last week when 35 employees of the Peak Tramways Company, which operates a system of pulley-trams from sea-level to the Peak, walked out.

* * *

The United States and British Governments notified Rumania last week that they are ready to recognize the communist-dominated Petru Groza Government, with which they had refused to deal for almost 11 months.

* * *

Great Britain and the Soviet Union have informed the United States that they have no objection to the publication of the Big Three agreement at Yalta for the Soviet control of the Kurile Islands.

* * *

Almost 70 cars have been returned to their owners to date by the Alien Property Administration while a total of 100 have been registered with that office since February 2.

* * *

The newest and most effective drugs, D.D.T. and penicillin, will soon be manufactured in this country in large quantities, a report from Nanking last week declared.

* * *

Those taxi-dancers who have been "approved by the police" will receive their licenses this week.

* * *

Recent reports from the United States say that the heart of Bishop Logan H. Roots, will be sent to China for burial in his wife's grave in Kuling. Bishop Roots, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Hankow for 34 years, was buried on Mackinac Island, Michigan, last September.

* * *

Reacting to a fake Associated Press story that the Ministry of Finance had fixed the Chinese dollar at 2000 to one American dollar, Chinese Currency in Hongkong took a 25 percent drop, thus enabling speculators, who are alleged to have forged the cable, to cleanup on the exchange.

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Joint Organ To Rule Korea In One Month

A JOINT 10-man commission—five Soviets and five Americans—representing the commands of the two countries with a permanent seat at Korea's capital, Seoul, is to be established not later than the first week of March to help set up the Provisional Korean Government, as agreed at the Moscow conference.

Two prominent American papers, the New York Times and the Herald Tribune criticized the commission communique as being inadequate. The Times said: "There is conspicuously no mention to lift the barrier along the 38th parallel."

Yong Jeung Kim, President of the self-styled Korean Affairs Institute, in the United States urged the Commission to set Korea free within six months and failing that, "leave it to its own affairs."

Java Issue Threatens World Security, Peace

DEMANDING that the United Nations Security Council send to Java an on-the-spot commission composed of representatives of Britain, United States, Russia, Netherlands and China, both Andrei Vyshinsky, Russian delegate, and Dmitri Manuilsky, Ukrainian delegate to the United Nations, speaking before the council, accused Britain of violating its agreements on the Far East by failing to disarm Japanese troops in the Netherlands East Indies, and threatening world peace by keeping British troops in that area.

Manuilsky, particularly, charged that British troops in that area were promoting the interests of the Shell Oil Company, and pointed out that Harold Stassen, U.S. Delegate had suggested a United Nations investigation: reason enough for sending such a commission.

While the first UNO deadlock on Greece that troubled organization managed to tide over safely by dismissing the case, the second problem, dealing with the presence of British troops in Java, threatened to cause a serious rift in the newly formed organization. Vyshinsky warned the Council to give its most serious consideration to the charges of the Ukrainian delegation, adding: "The situation in Indonesia means war."

To these double charges Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin strongly replied that similar statements were a reflection on "His Majesty's Government, his military commanders and his troops."

Meanwhile, the Dutch Government undertook a measure designed to lessen the impact of the Soviet accusations by promulgating its intention of establishing a Commonwealth of Indonesia within the framework of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. A constitution "comprising guarantees for fundamental rights," was envisaged in this statement.

Who's Who in China,

LIEUT.-GEN. SUN YUAN-LIANG, army officer; native of Chekiang; born at Hwa Yang, Szechuan, 1904; after receiving his preliminary education in Szechuan, attended Whampoa Military

Lieut.-Gen. Sun Yuan-liang
(孫元良)

Academy from which he was graduated; following graduation, he entered the Army and took part in several campaigns during the Revolution; appointed commander of the 1st Regiment of the 1st Route Army of the Northern Punitive Expeditionary Forces in 1926; went to Japan and attended the Tokyo Military Officers' College, 1926-29; when he took a trip through Korea and the Three Eastern Provinces, he was dismissed from the school by the then Japanese War Minister on suspicion of being engaged in political activities; upon return to China he was appointed commander of the artillery corps in the 1st Division of the Model Army and shortly afterwards promoted Commander of the 7th Regiment of the 2nd Division of the National Army; during the Shanghai hostilities with the Japanese in 1932, as Commander of the 259th Brigade of the 5th Army, he participated in the battles of Miaohangchen and Laitangchen; promoted Commander of 88th Division in 1933; awarded the Paoting medal (寶鼎勛章); in the winter of 1933, when the Fukien rebellion broke out, his Division was transferred to Fukien and after the suppression of the rebellion, he joined the Government's 5th general campaign against the Communists in Kiangsi; upon the outbreak of the Japanese hostilities in Shanghai on August 13, 1937, his troops were the first Chinese units to resist the Japanese; throughout the period of 76 days of the hostilities in Shanghai, he was responsible for the defense of Chapei; the famed lost battalion at Joint Savings Society Godown was also under his command; participated in the battle of Nanking, December, 1937; transferred to Szechuan, 1938; commissioned by the National Government to study military science and equipment in Europe and America, autumn, 1938; in the winter of 1944, during the campaign at Kweichow, he was in command of the 29th Army under Gen. Tang En-po; decorated with the Vinmao Medal (雲麾勛章); (translator of two books "The Military History of the World," and "The Napoleon Strategy;") appointed chief of Political Dept. of the 3rd directional army, 1945; address: Poitical Department, The 3rd Directional Army, Wusih.

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

GENERAL SADAMU SHIMOMURA, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese forces in North China in 1944, who returned to Tokyo to serve as War Minister in the Suzuki surrender cabinet, headed the list of 19 Japanese named by SCAP last week and taken into custody on charges of war crimes.

* * *

SIR BEN SMITH, British Minister of Food, early this week said that India is faced with threats of famine with an especial shortage of cereals.

* * *

JUDGE MILTON J. HELMICK, former Judge of the United States Court for China, arrived here early this week from the United States aboard the President Pierce and expressed confidence in the eventual revival and greatness of China.

* * *

PAN SHIAO-O, Director of CNRRA's Relief Department, who arrived here from a trip to Manchuria, said that part of the country is urgently in need of relief, many persons still being thinly clad in the 37 degree-below-zero weather.

* * *

O. K. YUI, Chinese Minister of Finance, who arrived here from Chungking last week, denied reports that any Sun Currency has been printed to date.

* * *

NORMAN SOONG, prominent Chinese correspondent who covered the Panay incident in 1937, returned to this city last week after almost eight years. He has been with the Central News agency for the past three years.

* * *

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, President of the British Board of Trade, told Britons last week that their attitude to sex was over-prudish. "We have been half ashamed of our divinely created animal instincts...." he said.

* * *

GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL, presidential ambassador was due to leave February 15 with General Chou En-lai, vice Chairman of the Communist Party and General Chang Chih-chung, head of the Government's Political Training Board of the Military Council, for a fortnight's inspection tour throughout China.

* * *

WAN CHIA-PAO, author, better known under his pen-name of Tsao Yu, will visit the United States under an invitation of the State Department.

* * *

SHU SHEH-YU, author of the current best-seller Ricsha Boy has accepted the invitation of the U.S. State Department to visit the United States.

* * *

DOUGLAS BROWN, Reuter's correspondent in Lisbon was last week given 48 hours in which to leave Portugal without any reason being but forth for his expulsion.

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PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN, has asked Congress to raise his budget request for the State Department to approximately US$30,000,000, one third of which will be used to finance the information program abroad.

* * *

"YOUNG MARSHAL" CHANG HSUEH-LIANG, cannot be released from prison because he violated military law and cannot be considered a political prisoner, The Democratic Daily News declared in Chungking this week.

* * *

LIEUTENANT GENERAL GEORGE E. STRATEMEYER, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, was last week decorated by Lieutenant General A. C. Wedemeyer in recognition of his services in China. He left Tuesday for the United States on a new assignment.

* * *

ELLIS N. TUCKER, of St. John's University returned from the United States early this week, said:....."America is very pro-Chinese today...."

* * *

JOSEPH C. GREW, former ambassador to Japan for 10 years, appeared as a witness last week before the Senate-House committee hearings on Pearl Harbor.

* * *

LIEUTENANT GENERAL MASAHARU HOMMA, English-speaking Japanese general held responsible for the "Bataan Death March," admitted his moral responsibility for the atrocity. He has been condemned to be shot.

* * *

PROFESSOR ROSCOE POUND, eminent American authority on jurisprudence and former Dean of Harvard Law School, is due to arrive in China to act as adviser to the Ministry of Justice.

* * *

JOSEPH STALIN, speaking before a throng of his constituents late last week, on the eve of the election in the Soviet Union told them that the war could have been avoided if the redistribution of markets could have been achieved peacefully, but that this was impossible under the "conditions of world development of capitalism."

* * *

FOREIGN COMMISSAR VYACHESLAV MOLOTOV, speaking to his electors who had nominated him to run for election, said that the leadership of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. has been clearly endorsed by the Soviet People and that solidarity has been demonstrated between Communists and non-party people.

* * *

LIEUTENANT GENERAL ALBERT C. WEDEMEYER, China Theater Commander, told newsmen last week that the United States has the same responsibility of repatriating Japanese from Manchuria as in other areas.

* * *

A. T. STEELE, New York Herald-Tribune correspondent, back in this city from covering the PCC meeting said that the present way was the only way to settle differences between the Central Government and the Communists, and added that the biggest obstacle was "lack of trust."

* * *

Local Financial And Commodity Marts Show Inflationary Trends

LOCAL financial and commodity markets during the past few day's followed an identical trend, opening comparatively weak and sluggish at the beginning of the week and firming up after the initial drop. The arrival of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek dampened somewhat the speculative temper since many operators believed that incisive price control measures would be taken to combat steadily rising price trends.

Although announcements to that effect were made, however, local prices and exchange rates advanced on Tuesday to new heights with the United States dollar hitting the 2000 dollar mark.

Speaking of this recent development, one has to mention a hoax perpetrated by mischievous Hongkong speculators who forged a telegram form of the Associated Press and circulated a report that the exchange rate had been fixed at the 2000 dollar level. If they had known of the recent rise of foreign currencies in Shanghai they probably would have fixed their imaginary rate at a higher level, but obviously events are moving faster than the average speculator's brain.

All this brings up the topic of inflation again on which subject innumerable books, essays, articles and pamphlets have been written. All this literature, however, seems to be of no avail once an administration is in the midst of it as China's present Government seems to be.

Some economists, in this connection have coined the nice phrase of price inflation caused by the scarcity of commodities brought about probably by hoarding.

All this facile talk, however, misses the mark since it constantly directs attention to some epiphenomena of fundamental inflationary trends.

Naturally, once the amount of circulating money has increased beyond a certain level, goods are comparatively scarce as compared with inflated paper currencies. It is highly questionable, however, whether a fully fledged inflation can be brought about by hoarding, since, after all, the necessary money to buy goods at increased prices must come from somewhere and is usually not increased by the bad hoarders at the same time.

Fundamentally, however, the difficulties of the present situation seem to be linked up with China's budget deficit regarding whose magnitude no exact figures are available.

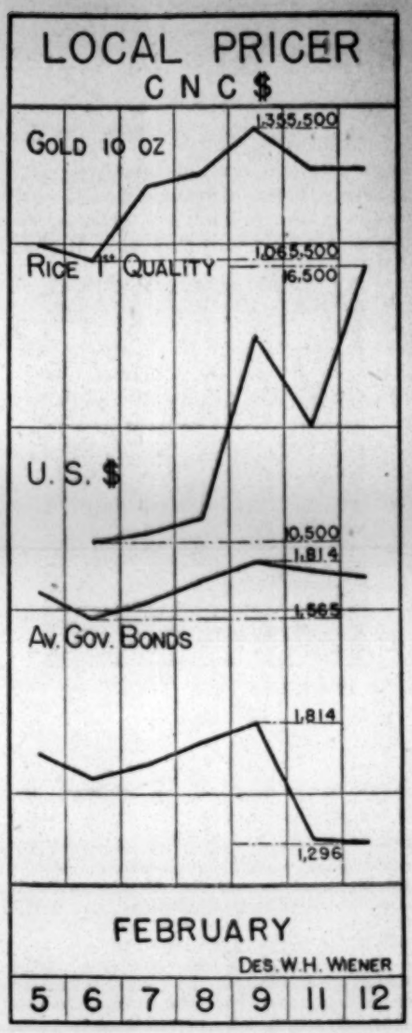
Unless China, therefore, can balance its budget either by foreign loan or by a rigid adherence to economical standards, price controls are likely to prove as futile as they proved to be in other countries.

In this connection a loan of 60,000,000 Canadian dollars was reported which amount should go a certain way towards alleviation of China's present plight. Considering China's financial needs, however, at the present juncture, this amount seems to be but a drop in the bucket, so that more incisive measures must be taken to get at a practicable exchange rate.

All local merchants, therefore, are in great need of some kind of stability since otherwise the present impasse threatens to be drawn out indefinitely.

Wednesday's closing morning rates were as follows:

	CNC$	CNC$
Gold Bars	1,360,000	1,365,000
U.S. Dollar Notes	1,900	1,920
Wing On Textiles	2,600	2,650
Mayar Silk	2,000	2,050
Ewo Cottons	6,000	6,100
Wheelocks	13,000	——
Metals	2,700	2,800



The most impressive performance on local markets during the period under review can be seen in the steep advances of the gold and U.S. dollar quotations together with rice prices. There are some reactions to be seen toward the end of the period, notably Government Bonds, but the fact remains that the main indicators of the exchange value of the National Chinese dollar, the gold bar rate and the price for United States dollars, displayed steeply upward moving trends. As can be expected under the present circumstances, fixing of the exchange rate has not materialized yet, so that it remains a matter of guessing when and how present trends will be arrested.

Postal Rates In CNC$

	Weight	China Local	China Domestic	Abroad	U.S.A.	P.I.
LETTER						
Ordinary delivery	20 grs.	$20.	$20.	$30.	$30.	$30.
every succeeding	20 grs.	20.	20.	20.	20.	20.
Air mail in China	10 grs.	—	3.	—	—	—
„ „ abroad	5 grs.	—	—	—	90.	170.
Double Registration		60.	60.	90.	90.	90.
Single Registration		30.	30.	50.	50.	50.
Express		50.	50.	110.	110.	110.
Ordinary Express		20.	20.	—	—	—
PRINTED MATTER						
Ordinary delivery	100 grs.	6.	6.	—	—	—
PARCEL POST						
Individual Parcel for U.S.A. only $180 per lb.						

Cable Rates In CNC$

	per word
India	205
Manila	510
Australia	380
Russia In Europe	155
Great Britain	360
France	360
European Countries	360
Canada	470
California	390
New York	470
Chile	760

Revival Of Chinese Silk Industry Seen

TO compensate for the ruthless destruction of mulberry trees in a number of Chinese provinces by occupation forces, the Japanese Government was last week ordered by General Douglas MacArthur, to ship by air an estimated 1,500,000 grams of silkworm eggs and 1,800,000 seedlings to this country at a later date.

The manufacture of silk, in which millions of Chinese were engaged in the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang before the war, was practically halted during the Japanese occupation and this recent measure will serve to restore China to its former level as a silk-producing country.

Current reports from Korea indicate that silk production in that country, the third largest in the world before the war, will equal the pre-war peak by the end of this year and may eventually exceed Japan's output. Neglected during the war, the Korean silk industry is being strengthened by shipments of 3,000,000,000 silkworm eggs, 2,000,000 mulberry seedlings and 3000 pounds of seeds from Japan. The latter are distributed among 1,000,000 families who will be engaged in the rearing of silkworms.

Bank Of England Bill Passes House Of Lords

FINAL legislative action for the nationalization of the Bank of England was passed last week by the House of Lords without discussion and was the first measure on the Government's five-year nationalization plan.

Former stockholders will receive £400 of a new 3 percent Government stock for every £100 of Bank stock previously held, with an optional redemption in or after 1966 and this will give them an income similar to the one they had for 22 years past from the Bank's dividend of 12 percent, less tax. The Stock Exchange marketed the stock at £394 and there are indications that it will be nearer par soon.

The nationalization bill brings the Bank into the realm of Civil Service for it will be managed henceforth by a Governor, Deputy Governor and 16 directors, all appointed by the King. This gives the Government control not only of the Bank of England, but practically of the entire banking system.

Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, pointed out that the maintaining of income for stockholders for over 20 years does not set a precedent for other institutions to be nationalized, the Bank being an exemplary organization, well managed over a period of years.

BUSINESS FOOT-NOTES

France is completing negotiations for a loan of Canadian $243,000,000 to help finance purchases from Canada totalling approximately $345,000,000. The balance of Canadian $102,000,000 will be paid in cash.

* * *

More than 90 highway technical experts and road-building specialists from the United States are coming to China in the near future under the auspices of UNRRA and will be sent out to different parts of the country upon arrival.

* * *

Negotiations conducted between the Joint Head Office of the Four National Banks and the Executive Committee of the Clearing House in Shanghai, resulted in the alteration of the time for clearance of checks and bank bills from the morning to 3:30 p.m. as of February 11.

* * *

The tung tree and the Guayula are the crops which will be considerably expanded in Transcaucasia this year, while the Eucalyptus and Ramie will likewise be planted in that district. Special attention is being paid to the raising of the tung tree, whose oil is used in the paint industry.

* * *

The 900-mile long United States Army pipeline which carried oil across Burma into China has been sold as scrap to the Indian Traders' Corporation of New Delhi.

* * *

Favoring an immediate fixation of the exchange rate by the Government, Wang Hsiao-lai, President of the Shanghai Chinese Chamber of Commerce, said last week that a movable standard of CNC$2000 for US$1.00, with movable margins of CNC$200, would be the best way of pegging the Chinese dollar.

* * *

Negotiations have been reported between China and the United States for the purchase by the former of all or part of the estimated 66,000 tons of Lend-Lease supplies which were intended for China but were still in the hands of the U.S. forces when Lend-Lease ceased to function last September.

* * *

Work on 12 major structures costing US$100,000,000 and involving several thousand men is planned in the United States Pacific North-West, and will be known as the Columbia Basin project. This project will include the building of an irrigation system for serving 17,000 new farms in an arid and semi-arid region of south-central Washington and will extend over a period of several years.

* * *

Holders of Chinese Government U.S. Dollar Saving Certificates complained that they are unable to collect from Shanghai branches of the four central banks interest falling due on same, and have been requested to send their coupons for collection to Chungking.

* * *

A mill located in Meridian, Mississippi has been purchased by the Hung Tung Cotton Mill here for the sum of US$500,000. This mill which includes 27,000 spindles and 500 looms will be removed to China within six months.

* * *

Plans for 11 major steamship lines to place 69 new vessels in worldwide service within the next three years were announced by the National Federation of American Shipping last week. The plan calls for 1,200,000 gross tons and will constitute a lifting capacity of 15,000 passengers, 700,000 tons of cargo and will entail an expenditure of US$500,000,000.

China's trade with India, although insignificant at this date, is perceptibly increasing. Figures of the October, 1944, merchandise shipped from China by sea to India totalled 4916 rupees, while they were 9608 for the same period in 1945. Indian exports, on the other hand, were much higher. October, 1944, saw merchandise valued at 35,555 rupees shipped to China by sea with this figure rising to 128,475 rupees in October, 1945.

* * *

While some 600,000 survivors of disastrous floods are awaiting relief, approximately 8570 square kilometers are still uninhabitable today in Central Honan. An estimated 887,910 structures ranging from larger brick houses to mud-huts have been destroyed by the floods.

* * *

United States exports during the first nine months of 1945 decreased to US$7,976,000,000, or 27 percent less than in the same period of 1944. General imports, however, advanced to US$3,172,000,000, or a gain of 8 percent over the first nine months of 1944, mainly due to the increase of imports from Latin American countries and the British Empire.

* * *

A net increase of US$25,000,000 was registered by the United States gold stock in December, 1945—the first rise in more than three years. This gain followed the smaliest monthly loss since November, 1942, viz: US$6,000,000 in November 1945. This has led observers to think that the outward movement of gold from the United States may be terminated.

* * *

Approximately 500,000 pounds of British cloth are now on their way to China. This is the first shipment of British cloth to this country after the war.

* * *

The introduction of a new kind of taxation—the transaction fee—is reported to have been introduced in Fukien Province. Buyers and sellers are required to pay this fee, said to be needed for the financing of mass education. While the tax is 25% on native tobacco or wine, other products are taxed from 25 per mille to 5 percent in various districts.

* * *

The Central Trust Bureau has announced the opening of a number of branch offices in various cities, including Tsingtao, Tientsin, Canton, Nanking and Hankow. Other offices will soon be opened in Wusih, Tsinan, Hongkong, Manila and Singapore.

* * *

Following the closure of the Chung Foo Union Bank last week the Ministry of Finance ordered the Yung Foong Bank to suspend business for alleged collaboration. The closure of the two banks came on the heels of the suspension of their licenses by the Ministry. The Young Foong Bank was established in 1940 and was registered with the puppet Ministry of Finance.

* * *

The United States is intending to sell extensive surplus ship-building equipment to foreign countries including China. This equipment comprises 16 fully rigged-out shipyards and some US$5,000,000 worth of other facilities.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

The New Deal

THE HISTORY OF THE NEW DEAL, *By Basil Rauch, Creative Age Press, New York,* 1944, 368 *pages, Reviewed By Urii Sdobnikoff.*

"WE have now passed the period of internal conflict in the launching of our program of social reform. Our full energies may now be released to invigorate the processes of recovery in order to preserve our reforms..." Thus spoke President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his Annual Message to Congress on January 4, 1939, admitting that further progress along the Second New Deal towards its final completion could no longer be contemplated. The Administration under Roosevelt, which had actively switched over to a newer deal in 1934 designed to work in the interest of the smaller business man, smaller farmer and for labor as a whole, could not risk defeat of its foreign policy by congressmen who would assuredly have balked if the Administration decided to pursue a strong domestic policy going against the interests of these representatives constituents.

The situation which arose at the beginning of 1939 was such that the President had to decide whether the internal foe, represented by reactionary congressmen who were intent on sabotaging the Executive's progressive reform policy, or the external foe, overseas in the form of the ever growing and aggressive Axis powers, constituted a more vital threat to the "American way of life."

Strange as it may seem, the arrangement of forces on the home front was such that those congressmen who were progressive on internal affairs, i.e. favored labor and small business as against monopolies trusts and large concerns, were largely isolationist, i.e. reactionary in foreign affairs.

On the other hand, other congressmen, who favored the first part of the New Deal, which was more favorable to big business in that it gave some advantages to employers as against labor, i.e. were reactionary on home affairs, were in favor of a strong United States stand in the face of Axis aggression.

Thus, the President, just in sight of a successful completion of the projected New Deal which would grant labor more rights, banish fear and oppression and generally enlarge the purchasing power of the major part of the nation, was faced with the dilemma: either to pursue the domestic policy with renewed vigor at home despite growing opposition in Congress or to drop further reforms and, while defending those already enacted, take a firm stand on the international arena.

As previously seen, the President and the Administration chose the latter course, and thereby terminated the work of six years packed with daily struggle for the principles of a Second New Deal designed to strenghten democracy in America, or rather make it work to capacity.

When the Administration first came to power in 1932, it inherited all the weak-kneed policies of the preceding Hoover Administration. From 1933 begins the gradual evolution by means of a series of Acts, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, The Gold Reserve, the Securities Exchange, the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, the Wealth Tax, the Fair Labor Standards and the Agricultural Adjustment Acts, from the support of big business towards its exact opposite. As Basil Rauch says, if big business had been the beneficiary of the First New Deal, labor became the beneficiary of the Second New Deal, which lasted from 1934 to 1939.

With the advent of policies and legislature enacted to aid labor to organize in the defense of its rights, the American Federation of Labor launched a campaign to organize workers in the mass production industries. Their efforts were not successful, partly on account of the fierce opposition of employers, through labor spies and strikebreakers, who had just been deprived of the right to form company unions and partly due to the timidity of A. F. of L. leaders and the inappropriateness of the craft-principle in the great industries.

The militant Congress of Industrial Organizations stepped into the picture and its strength may be considered to be a barometer of the concessions granted to labor under the Second New Deal. The present impasse on the labor-managementt front in the United States is not incidental: its roots are deeply embedded in the beginnings of the First New Deal back in 1932.

Basil Rauch, a Lieutenant in the USN Reserve, has a vast amount of data in support of his presentation and commentary of the highlights of that momentous era known as the New Deal. His report, for it is an excellent report, and, as the author himself asserts, does not pretend to have finality and definitiveness, which even the history of ancient Egypt still lacks, is favorable to the policy followed by the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt. If the history of the economic and political development of a country can be entertaining reading, Basil Rauch's work is defnitely so.

American Statesman

A HOUSE DIVIDING: LINCOLN AS PRESIDENT-ELECT by William E. Baringer. The Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois, 1945, US$4.00, 356 *pps. Reviewed by Allan Nevins in the Saturday Review of Literature.*

MR. BARINGER, who has given us our fullest account of Lincoln's nomination and election, now follows that interesting volume by a thorough scrutiny of the four months of 1860-61 in which Lincoln made up his Cabinet, fought off the first infuriated mobs of office-seekers, dealt with the questions of compromise and concession, wound up his affairs in Springfield, and betook himself to Washington. His book abounds in detail drawn from newspapers, manuscript collections, and secondary works. Careful study of the *New York Herald* files and the papers of such Republican chieftains as Washburne, Chase, Sumner, Trumbull, and John Sherman has yielded many a juicy new item. Not all of them are political in import; several amusing pages, for example, described Lincoln's vexations which his wife's departure for New York to buy clothes and furniture left him to struggle with household cares, and his subsequent journey to see his stepmother and visit the unmarked grave of his father.

But the book has better virtues than a mass of well-arranged detail. Mr. Baringer states two conclusions of importance, and marshals a mass of evidence to support them. One is that Seward, with some help from the wily Simon Cameron, made a deliberate and determined pre-inauguration effort to control Lincoln's policy, notably in the matter of Cabinet selections. In this he completely failed: Lincoln had drawn up a list of nine favorites for his Cabinet, and after much hesitation, shuffling about, and mental agony, he shook off nearly all pressures and selected seven of these nine. He made his own Cabinet to suit himself, and though it proved a divided Cabinet, promptly splitting into a Seward-Cameron-Smith group aligned against a Chase-Blair-Welles group, this very split helped him to dominate it. The author's other conclusion respects Lincoln's position on the various proposals for compromising with the South. He played a game of masterly inactivity and self-command. He was by no means unwillingly to consider any settlement which would leave Republican and freesoil principles untouched, for by nature and by Whig antecedents he was a moderate man. But he was determined not to yield on principle. Suspicious that compromise proposals looked to some further expansion of slave territory, he reiterated his own and the Republican insistence that (except possibly in New Mexico) slavery should not advance another inch.

The inference from Mr. Baringer's two main theses, and from the evidence which he adduces, is that Lincoln as President-elect was by no means the uncertain, hesitant, self-distrustful man that he has sometimes been painted; that already he showed the sagacious firmness with which the nation later became familiar, and already possessed the traits of a leader. The book developed, Mr. Baringer says in the preface, "somewhat to the author's surprise, as the story of the making of a statesman." This was essentially the view long ago advanced by Nicolay and Hay in their third volume, and for all their uncritical Lincoln-olatry, John Hay and John G. Nicolay were men of sense who knew their subject at first hand. Lincoln never ceased to grow—but as the author of this book shows, he was a fairly well-fledged statesman, sure of his own abilities and resources, when he handed Douglas his hat and took the oath of office on March 4, 1861.

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TIME TABLE

44	24	8	2	4	42	74	6	車次 TRAIN NO.		73	41	43	23	7	1	3	5
4th Class	3rd Class		Exp.	Exp.	2,3 Local	2,3 Local	Night Exp.	站名 STATIONS		2,3 Local	2,3 Local	4th Class	3rd Class		Exp.	Exp.	Night Exp.
1.00	7.00	8.00	9.00	11.00	15.00	18.00	21.00	D	上海 SHANGHAI	A	10.45	12.10	13.30	18.40	20.40	16.30	19.35	6.30
2.36	8.39	9.13	10.07	12.12	16.57	19.53	22.33	A	崑山 QUINSAN	D	8.45	10.14	11.35	17.01	19.29	15.20	18.13	5.16
2.41	8.42		10.12	12.16	17.10	19.56	22.38	D		A	8.37	10.10	11.30	16.54		15.15	18.08	5.11
3.41	9.47	10.01	10.56	13.00	18.37	20.52	23.38	A	吳縣 WUHSIEN	D	7.29	9.00	10.05	15.50	18.44	14.30	17.23	4.20
4.13	9.56	10.10	11.06	13.15	18.46	21.00	23.50	D		A	7.17	8.54	9.44	15.39	18.35	14.21	17.14	4.11
5.23	11.07	11.01	11.57	14.25	20.02	22.00	0.48	A	無錫 WUSIH	D	6.00	7.41	8.30	14.28	17.45	13.31	16.19	3.14
5.43	11.13	11.09	12.05	14.35	20.11		1.00	D		A		7.35	8.19	14.17	17.36	13.23	16.12	3.05
7.03	12.23	12.00	13.02	15.46	21.30		1.58	A	武進 WUCHIN	D		6.20	7.05	13.05	16.40	12.27	15.10	2.00
7.22	12.50		13.15	16.00			2.13	D		A			6.30	12.36		12.12	14.54	1.39
8.47	14.49		14.11	17.01			3.19	A	丹陽 TANYANG	D			5.05	10.29		11.18	13.39	0.20
8.52	15.00		14.16	17.05			3.24	D		A			4.54	10.24		11.14	13.34	0.13
9.55	15.55		14.54	17.43			4.10	A	鎮江 CHINKIANG	D			3.40	9.30		10.36	12.56	23.17
10.30	16.10		15.07	17.51			4.22	D		A			3.17	9.12		10.25	12.41	23.05
13.10	18.20		16.30	19.25			6.00	A	南京 NANKING	D			1.00	7.00		9.00	11.00	21.00

FARE LIST

STATIONS 站名		Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express	
SHANGHAI	上海							
QUINSAN	崑山	52	540.00	720.00	360.00	450.00	180.00	225.00
WUHSIEN	吳縣	86	810.00	990.00	540.00	630.00	270.00	315.00
WUSIH	無錫	129	1,170.00	1,530.00	780.00	950.00	390.00	480.00
WUCHIN	武進	167	1,530.00	1,890.00	1,020.00	1,200.00	510.00	600.00
TANYANG	丹陽	212	1,980.00	2,520.00	1,320.00	1,590.00	660.00	795.00
CHINKIANG	鎮江	242	2,250.00	2,790.00	1,500.00	1,770.00	750.00	885.00
NANKING	南京	311	2,880.00	3,600.00	1,920.00	2,280.00	960.00	1,140.00

滬杭線 SHANGHAI HANGCHOW LINE

TIME TABLE

11	61	31	車次 TRAIN NO.		32	12	62
Express	2,3,4 Class	2,3 Class	站名 STATIONS		2,3 Class	Express	2,3,4 Class
7.00	7.50	15.15	D 上海北站 SHANGHAI NORTH	A	13.45	19.30	22.35
7.15	8.09	15.35	A 上海西站 SHANGHAI	D	13.25	19.15	22.16
7.25	8.19	15.40	D WEST	A	13.20	19.05	22.11
8.14	8.24	16.45	A 松江 SUNGKIANG	D	12.12	18.18	21.07
8.19	8.30	16.50	D	A	12.07	18.11	21.02
9.30	11.04	18.28	A 嘉興 KASHING	D	10.38	17.00	19.35
9.42	11.18	18.40	D	A	10.26	16.48	19.25
10.16	11.52	19.19	A 峽石 HASHA	D	9.38	16.14	18.42
10.18	11.54	19.21	D	A	9.36	16.12	18.40
10.53	12.39	20.07	A 長安 CHANGAN	D	8.51	15.37	17.51
10.58	12.44	20.14	D	A	8.46	15.32	17.46
12.00	14.00	21.30	A 杭州 HANGCHOW	D	7.30	14.30	16.30

FARE LIST

STATIONS 站名		Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express	
SHANGHAI	上海							
SUNGKIANG	松江	45	450.00	632.00	300.00	290.00	150.00	495.00
KASHING	嘉興	99	900.00	1,080.00	600.00	690.00	300.00	345.00
HASHA	峽石	125	1,170.00	1,530.00	780.00	960.00	390.00	480.00
CHANGAN	長安	151	1,440.00	1,800.00	960.00	1,140.00	480.00	570.00
HANGCHOW	杭州	190	1,710.00	2,070.00	1,140.00	1,320.00	570.00	660.00

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